/190 cont./ The girl
595 then helps with household tasks and the father of the house may
591 have children by her, without his marrying the girl -- today at
178 any rate -- as his second wife in a regular marriage ceremony.
584 If a young man wants to marry, he speaks -- in the normal case -- to his father, and the latter with the father of his chosen one. Courtship through a third person outside the family is not customary, and the relatives on the two sides do not enter into communication with one another and exchange presents until after the official wedding ceremony. As a rule, the two young people have reached an agreement earlier, before the fathers speak to each other. The consent of the girl, however, is not required, for the agreement of the young man with the two fathers is fully adequate, and in this case the girl is given in marriage
584 even against her will. But this is said to be the case very rarely
● 754 or never, for it is dangerous for a girl to refuse a young man's
539 proposal of marriage. In this case he would spit and utter the following curse: "Toblel (untranslatable), I wanted to marry you, but you did not want it; now you must die!" I told the men of Calderas that I doubted whether this curse could have any effect, but then I was told the story of the girl who did not want to marry
[832] a Paez. This girl was very beautiful. (By the way, only unmarried girls are called beautiful; a married woman is never described as beautiful.) She was slightly fat -- being thin is regarded as ugly -- was always washed clean and well combed, and wore beautiful necklaces and earrings, handsomely woven clothing, and an exquisite belt that she herself wove. Many young men of Calderas wanted to marry her, but she did not want to marry a Calderun, only a white. She therefore left her village to go to Popayán (the only larger, well-known city). She walked very fast. On the way, however, in the páramo (bordering mountains) there was a Pijao. He /191/ seized her and took her into his house alive. There he kindled a fire, killed her, and devoured her. By way of explanation the storyteller added: A girl who does not want to marry a Calderun but a white, because the Calderun men are not handsome enough, would, on the way to

/191 cont./

584 the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. There-
754 fore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of
539 the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian
114 colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San
584 Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much
[423] amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal
[692] punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

584 For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young
431 man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance
756 of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
182 natural and normal development of human existence is not obstructed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/256 cont./

771 [793] [756] [797] 771 754 [797] [177] It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental attitude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite missionizing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather everything is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched, being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes 554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty and industrious members of the community, those who tower above the others because of their success.

754 177 There are no persons who are privileged because of age, sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans, who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 554 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán. On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives -- so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One [755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye, however, to this day.

/257 cont./

754 The special target of the evil sorcerers are the white
648 Colombians. People are afraid to undertake anything against them
797 openly, but the magic manipulations of the nyic against them are widely known. The ones primarily affected are the whites, who robbed the Paez of land, and among them the missionaries, too. The nyic then try to obtain mastery over the souls of the whites, to treat them with herbs, and thus make them so sluggish that they will not return to Tierradentro any more. It is also said that the nyic had placed their remedies /258/ in the church so that the mission priest from Belalcázar would never come there any more and would never enter it any more.

754 The victims of evil sorcery, however, are not only human
789 beings and animals, but also the cultivated fields, which can be
[464] bewitched by means of eggs, salt, or pubic hair. The families affected are then no longer able to feed themselves, and in many cases the fathers of the families must leave the village in order to hire themselves out to the whites. The removal of the unpopular one is thus achieved. His return is prevented in magical ways, the nyic placing special herbs, which the person cannot step over, on the connecting roads.

754 The aids for evil magic are not, say, objects belonging to the persons to be bewitched and used in a pars-pro-toto act, but are exclusively parts or agents from among the belongings of the sorcerer, which, for their effect, must be brought into close contact with the victim himself or his soul. If the nyic wishes his victim to have an accident, he places a smoothly polished stone from the river somewhere in his house. The person in question will then soon slip and fall and break his bones or suffer a sprain. Another possibility for bewitchment is for the nyic to spread his agent on the food of his victim. Thus, a shaman from Santa Rosa reports how the former young and capable Gobernador Leonidas was killed by the nyic Dolores Dinó. She visited him one day while he was working alone in his garden and threw several of her own pubic hairs in the food in his cooking pot and, in addition, a fragment from a prehistoric clay pot of the Pijao. Leonidas ate this meal.

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men
756 as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the
[562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman,
[753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re-
[623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick-
[683] ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans,
756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent
562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible.
756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in
[124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

/259 cont./

b) The Period of Development of the Shaman

756 The teyu with whom I was acquainted became shamans in two ways. Either they were taught by a teyu for a more or less long period of time, until they were given the "signs," or they were directly called to become a shaman by a vision. The latter, as a result of special selection through an experience caused by higher beings, is the more original type of shaman calling, whereas a regular apprenticeship with an experienced teyu is characteristic for the shamans who carry on the position of their fathers and sometimes also that of their grandfathers. These "hereditary shamans" are generally not as powerful magically as those initially chosen through a vision. The hereditary shamans are merely the continuers of an acquired shamanistic trade, whereas the initially chosen ones are the continuers of the tradition of a creator of human beings and animals, of a heroic war leader and liberator
[776] of their people. This mythically important figure of Paez tradition is Thunder, who is also regarded as the foremost and the most powerful magically of all shamans. His human successors were scarcely inferior to him as shamans in olden times, whereas the present-day ones are generally quite far behind in their magical abilities.

● 754 The teoi Felisa Ipia from Santa Rosa is about 70 years old
756 (Ill. 199 /see p. 288/). Her husband and six children are dead. Three children are living. She keeps no animals aside from a few chickens and turkey hens. About her calling she says that she received her call to become a shaman from Thunder. /260/ The latter lives in the lagoon of Taibe. He appeared to her in a black cloud and descended to earth to her in human form and gave her her shaman's staff and her medicinal herbs, saying that she had
754 been chosen as teoi by him. She then practiced her art for a long
756 time; but the people said that she was an evil shaman, a nyic,
683 and brought her before the cabildo to be punished. Since the people greatly fear the nyic, she was given many blows there, and, indeed, with her own shaman's staff. Afterwards it was broken and burned

/260 cont./

756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however, the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one. Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her. Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head, came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers. Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style, who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from ají (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time, until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man. The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./
756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship,
[123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way
756 of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas
312 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, ¥ũ. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

●754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyic if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are
754 crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective nyic may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

/262 cont./

●754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyic, just as there are also supposed to nyic who instruct others in their art.

756 784 [834] [263] Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats [787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the 756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same 784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a 825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only [262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 787 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most important symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive [278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

If someone

/266 cont./

787 dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this
[266] squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/
black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night
and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexa-
tion during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a
chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in
a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown
horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the
color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dream-
ing of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black
cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before
sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green
or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the
subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees
a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil
shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the
wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but
neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it.
Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil
sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on
[763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a
dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large
rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father.
But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he
will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a
great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break
● [754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that
[763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a
sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul
of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down
the earth again.

756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced
spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a correspond-
ing external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disap-
[181] pointed. The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is
added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic,
like the entire culture of the Paez.

/269 cont./
and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

/270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sät (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont./

752 longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
● 754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural influences are either bewitchments by the nyic, magical injury

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits ečˇ, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place
after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[849] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent
bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyic, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire
villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited.
Besides being bewitched by a nyic, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and ečˇ. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow,"
and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the
cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the
people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person.
And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the
fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg),
whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from
the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and
ečˇ, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person
lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in
the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead
wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming
up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/274 cont./

774 776 753 (u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, ec̆, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how [775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu 756 774 ● 754 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example, if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must [783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse [824] his hands with the herbs s̆ũ and vitubĩtskwe, as well as with brandy. [276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from ec̆.

554 754 756 [124] Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and [682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santísima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
[824] the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[782] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise [782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

●754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic. According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/285 cont./

578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyic. The only possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyic. It came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way. Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal. He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyic, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars. The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 774 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too, must die.

754 774 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the teyu is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the nyic. The nyic digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the nyic gives it a powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it is supposed to die very quickly, the nyic throws strongly efficacious herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles the herb baw (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so distended that he dies. If the nyic sprinkles lime over the soul, the person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb boračero (Datura sp.), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of the čuwét (Krameria ixina?) and the soul together brings death. The herbs kaspi (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze), lečero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), and Pringamoza also cause death.

754 774 824

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 756 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without the activity of the teyu, neither the family nor the village community can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the nyic, the tũs, eč, and gělyŏmp spirits and turn them into something good. His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

* /308 cont./

539 not let go of it. The human jaguar ran after him. He almost killed the Pijao, but the latter did not let go of his staff. They ran in this fashion for three hours, until they came to a rock near which the Pijao lived. There the jaguar turned himself into a human being again and sat down. The Pijao, however, descended to his village, which lay on a great plain. He went into his house. Then the Pijao came running to catch the supposed jaguar. The latter again turned himself from a human being into a jaguar and ran away from the Pijao. For three full hours he ran, back to the place where the Pijao had been roasting the bananas and the snake. Both were still there, as well as the fiber bag. The snake was only half cooked. The human jaguar sat down and ate up everything. In the afternoon he went back to his house again and also took the bag along to show it to his wife. After he had knocked, he entered
* 539 his house. (In connection with this the narrator remarked: The
● 754 human jaguar was probably an evil shaman, because formerly they were able to turn themselves into jaguars in order to steal cattle and sheep. Then, when they returned to their houses, they turned themselves back into human beings. Today, however, no one is able to turn himself into a jaguar any more. To do this, one needs a special remedy (yutse), which looks like a caterpillar. It may be obtained in the Cauca Valley, but nobody knows where.)

*539 18. The Duel between the Human Jaguar and the Mountain Jaguar

On a mountain there was a jaguar who robbed the people of all their animals. It stole chickens, turkeys, foals, cattle. It always came down from the mountain and devoured these animals. The people were therefore very angry. One day six men set out to kill the jaguar. They had with them many dogs and many guns. They found the jaguar on the mountain, but it devoured all the dogs and filled the people with terror. They therefore returned in the afternoon, very /309/ sad and without dogs. They now had no more dogs to go hunting another day. So the next day they went to a man who was known to be very strong and asked him:

/309 cont./

539 "Why do you not go with us? Why are you so cowardly?" This man, however, was a human jaguar. He could turn himself into a jaguar, and he decided to kill the mountain jaguar. He did not tell the people, of course, that he could turn himself into a jaguar, but rather he simply said that he was willing to kill the jaguar.

The next morning he set out very early, armed with only his machete. The other men wanted to accompany the human jaguar, but he said: "Just stay here, you are of no use anyway." The human jaguar then departed without his dog, armed only with his knife. At about eight o'clock the jaguar man was in the mountains and came upon the mountain jaguar asleep. The man then turned himself into a jaguar, let his claws grow, and began to knock over bushes and trees, as though he had an ax in his hands. When he had sharpened his claws well in this way, he began to roar loudly. The mountain jaguar awoke and got up, furious. They both went to an open spot and began at first merely to play. But the mountain jaguar did not want to play and immediately started to fight in earnest. They then fought wildly for about three hours. Then the mountain jaguar was able to wound the human jaguar. Since the latter, however, had merely played at first, he had more strength at the end and was able to kill the
● [554] mountain jaguar. (Narrator's comment: The human jaguar is always stronger than the mountain jaguar, because the former eats salt.) The human jaguar then turned himself back into a human being, and with his machete, which he had brought along, he cut off the four feet of the mountain jaguar and put them in his bag. He set up the animal's body, however, as though the jaguar were still alive, the head turned downward in the direction of the village of the human beings.

The human jaguar now went back to the village as a human being and told his wife and the people that he had killed the jaguar of the mountains. "I have killed the mountain jaguar, go and see whether it is so."

The next day the people set out and went into the mountains to see whether the jaguar was really dead. They took along guns

754
756
N42
291

224
532
776

Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

1: Nachtigall--288 p. (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

CI

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *vito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc.

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tsoöts*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle.

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dixi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckiaŭ*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles!

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave.

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his ravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin.

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the

000 /288 cont./
756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

583 Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

* /222 cont./
756 787 making the tama /a staff/. That man's vision is a personal one. No one else can see it. And it is the same thing that gives the "signs," without which it is impossible to cure, even if one knows the medicinal value of the remedies. When the interview is over, the man returns home with joy manifest on his face. He finishes his apprenticeship with another curer, begins to cure his children and members of his family, and soon, once his reputation has spread, others will come and request his services.

One who is going to be a curer sees visions from boyhood: Thunder /Trueno/ or the Ghost. This is the illumination of his future destiny. He cannot evade it, for Thunder or the Ghost may drive him insane.

[263] When a child tells of having had a vision, he is immediately prohibited from eating ají, his salt ration is reduced, and [868] he is bathed with remedies. Then a good curer is sought to instruct him, and when he has the secrets of medicine, that teacher leads him to the lagoon to be consecrated by Thunder. "To see Thunder" -- says an /223/ informant -- "having him show the medicines, is a sign that one will become a very good curer."

* 754 756 787 When someone has a vision, care is taken that the sorcerer does not find out about it, for out of wickedness he might show him ají and hep (a plant) and drive him insane. This happened to the curer from Santa Rosa mentioned above. "He would finally have tossed me into the Páez river" -- he said -- "if a curer from Huila had not cured me. Even today, when I am drunk, I have crazy moments and sing."

* 756 868 Period of instruction. Instruction is given by a curer of great repute in an empirical way, for the pupil accompanies his teacher for several years, during which he learns how to handle the tama, to recognize the value of the remedies, to interpret signs, to master the technique of the treatments. The first cures are usually accomplished with his children or

/235 cont./

753 783 j) When there is no blowing of remedies while at the montañas, bogs, or lagoons.

k) When there is no blowing of remedies prior to cutting wood for bridges, sugar mills, and canoes.

l) When, at the inauguration of a rancho or house, the house ceremonies have not been performed.

ll) When the house has been built over a Pijao "huaca," or when they merely come across one while working the land.

m) When the traditional ceremonies are not performed upon harvesting a new clearing.

754 753 783 n) Through the machinations of the sorcerers. These kill the most people, for they not only send the pest to persons, but also to the entire community. On the other hand, they provoke /236/ the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi to anger and also do sorcery at the request of jealous or vengeful persons. The sorcerers have unlimited power.

Hernández de Alba, speaking of illness, generalizes in these words:

"Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, [834] [821] [765] the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse wit /sic/ a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglicting /sic/ to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death ocurred /sic/" /cited in English/ (7).

7. Hernández de Alba, Gr. 1946, p. 955. See also Pittier de Fábrega, H. 1907, p. 325.

5:Bernal Villa--38 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/248 cont./

776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with [727] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less * fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

756 The female Tê eu. Women can be curers, people state; 562 there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence * women do not learn medicine.

756 Taboos of the Tê eu. They refer above all to sex and food. 834 They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have 262 in other cultures.

5:Bernal Villa--39 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

* 756 While the curer is perceiving the signs, he cannot cohabit.
834 The sorcerer who is aware of this interdiction will, out of
● 754 malice and wickedness, take his wife to the kachí and cohabit
with her, with the aim that the signs will not circulate for the
[826] curer and the glowworms will not rise. And to add to the
wickedness, they leave in the kachí pubic hairs, which are
poisonous.

* 756 The curer cannot eat ají, especially the one called ají
262 de montaña, because this would anger Thunder and the Ghost.
[263] They do not eat salt, or consume very little of it. Thunder
did not eat salt, they say. They eat the meat of the "pro-
[785] visions" after performing the cleansing. In the ceremonies of
ut ká, wé ká, and ut peu, they fast for one day. That is to
say, they eat at daybreak and eat again on the following day.
Furthermore, since the treatments are given at night, frugality
makes them sleep less.

787 Dreams of the Té eu. The interpretation of Paez dreams,
as in the generality of popular interpretations of dreams, ob-
serves a certain relation between the manifest content of the
dream and the action to come. To put it better, future events
are deduced from the manifest content of the dream.

They believe firmly in the omens of the dreams, but they
* do nothing to forestall them. It is as if it were a fatality of
[756] destiny. There are no dreams peculiar to the curers. Inter-
pretation is a common patrimony of the people. The attitude
toward these omens is the same: to wait indifferently. Here
are a few examples out of many:

787 To dream that a snake bites him, sorcery. But if in the
754 dream another person kills the snake at the moment when it
bites him, a good curer will turn the sorcery from the victim
to the sorcerer himself.

To dream that a herd of swine attacks him, they are
practicing sorcery.

To dream of killing a pig, the sorcerer is going to be killed.

/250 cont./

and raw food. From the Ut ká and Wé ká they receive half of the animal sacrificed, chicha, and aguardiente. In case of a serious illness, they demand a pig, a sheep, and turkeys. But they get only a little.

Although there is no lack of information about curers who collect money for practicing their learning, such as a curer from Togoima who was in demand even in La Plata and Garzón, it may be stated that the curers do not grow rich in the profession. Rather, the practice of curing prejudices their economic activities. Some are quite poor, while others own large areas of land, good fields of maize, wheat, plantains, and arracacha, a few head of cattle, and several horses, pigs, sheep, and turkeys. They might be classified as rich. Of the five curers from the Parcialidad of Calderas, three may be regarded as rich, while of those regarded as sorcerers, only one is poor. Naturally, this has been acquired by inheritance /251/ rather than as the fruit of their own efforts. Their labors are performed in accordance with the norms that prevail in the community, that is to say, through the system of mingas. During the harvest they make a distribution of foods just as the others do. They participate actively in the work of the others, as well as at the fiestas and drinking bouts.

It remains to be noted that the richest of the community are not curers. On occasion they are frequently criticized when during the treatments they request pork and the patient is not improving. "You should be ashamed" -- they shout -- "you are eating mutton and the patient is dying."

"Good curers, in referring to those regarded as sorcerers, [754] say that they collect without fail. Whatever they see they ask for. The sorcerers say the same thing about the curers.

Social status of the Té eu. All the well-known curers are over 30 years of age. They are "elders" /mayores/ and for this reason respected by the community. It is said that the curers are no better than other men, but it is certain that they enjoy an aura of prestige and recognition different from that given by the concept of "majority" /mayoridad/.

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
* 756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

● 754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
* 756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:
774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

/255 cont./

●754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

*754 756 The té eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show interest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

754 *[756] As a rule, it is unusual for a té eu to be universally acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identification. [124] All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. [56] Nevertheless, none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] [692] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/256 cont./

754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs.

[825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 578 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 534 153 598 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/257 cont./

754 554 152 598 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick person, explained that this man owned much land and that they had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 613 623 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 685 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

754 177 554 The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/258 cont./

754 554 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path [182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 648 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

[433] [167] [464] The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emigration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/258 cont./

754 Methods of sorcery. There are various procedures for
774 practicing sorcery:

/259/ a) The one most widespread and about which the most information is provided consists of digging a hole and waiting over it for the soul of the victim. It arrives, giving off light like a candle. At once the sorcerer hits it with the tama, and it falls into the hole. It is at his disposal; he can bury it, whip it, blow remedies or mambe upon it, show it harmful objects.

When a quick death is desired, the sorcerer buries the soul with bad remedies, tamping it down vigorously with earth from the cemetery. The soul comes out with a whistling sound when the person dies.

754 It may also be whipped with the following remedies:
774 Bao* (Araceae). The victim's stomach swells until he dies.
824 Borrachero (Datura sp.). Poisonous narcotic. The victim goes mad.

Cabuya (Agave sp.). The juice of the leaves is caustic. The victim rots away.

Caspi* (Toxicodendron striatum Kuntze). Poisonous shrub whose emanations cause irritation of the skin. The person swells up and dies.

Chuwet in Spanish, called estancadera (Krameria ixína?) by the whites. It has pointed leaves, which, when brought into contact with the soul, stab the person.

Lechero (Euphorbia cotinifolia L.), poisonous plant. The victim bursts.

Pringamoza. The hairs of this member of the Urticaceae enter the body, and when they reach the heart, the victim dies.

754 The sorcerer can blow mambe on the soul, leaving the
774 person blind, or drive him insane by moving toward it a deer skull with an echi inside.

He can also prick it with the bones and hair of porcupines, snake bones, claws of the swift parakeet, and talons of eagles.

/259 cont./

754 To facilitate the capture of the soul, the sorcerer gathers
774 the soil on which the victim has trod, with which the us (heart) falls easily.

754 b) The sorcerer can make angry the Ghost, Rainbow, and
776 Echi. Thus:

For the Ghost, he puts a large ají de montaña (Capsicum sp.) at the spot where he lives; the person passes by and dies of a few stings in the heart.

/260/ For the Rainbow, he puts the rags of a menstruating woman in springs, bogs, damp places. A person passes by, is stung, and dies.

For the echi, he puts remedies where the victim works; stung, he vomits blood and dies on the spot.

754 c) Another way to cast a spell is rubbing bad remedies on the salt, pork, or eggs that the victim is going to eat. If by chance someone else eats them, nothing happens, for the witchcraft was not directed against him.

[783] d) The sorcerers handle the pest as they please. They can send it to persons or to the entire community. The sorceress Felisa brings the pest to Santa Rosa even for business reasons.

[789] e) When the sorcerers do not wish a person to return, they place at a strategic spot on the road two bundles of chayuts pointing upward, and in addition they blow dry pringamoza.

f) A curer from Santa Rosa explains how a spell was cast on one of the former gobernadors of the parcialidad. The late Leonidas was working in his garden and his rancho was empty. Then a woman came in, dressed in black (Dolores Oinó), dropped into the pot of food some of her own pubic hair, and stole a piece of Pijao earthenware that contained silver. Leonidas ate this food and began to feel his throat become dry
[783] and to breathe with difficulty. Finally he died. The Pijao pest has the same symptoms.

g) When the sorcerer wants a person to suffer an accident (fracture, contusion, dislocation), he leaves somewhere in that person's house a very smooth stone taken from the stream. The person, wherever he may be, slips and falls.

5:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/260 cont./

754 [783] If a person kills himself in a fall, it is believed that the sorcerer sent him ptans.

[761] h) To cast a spell on the plantings, they use tobacco, matches, and other remedies with which they are burned and destroyed.

As will be noted, in their enchantments the sorcerers do not use any parts or objects belonging to the victim, such as hair, nails, clothing, etc. Most of the remedies that they use are herbs or objects that have properties noxious to man or can cause him harm.

The sorcerer believes that putting them in contact with the soul or simply with the body produces the desired effects.

754 789 /261/ Paez sorcery is a clear case of imitative or homeopathic magic, according to Frazer's classic definition. It is "desire dominating the world with instruments born of desire" (10).

[118] 10. Ponce, Aníbal. Estudios de Psicología /Psychological Studies/, El Ateneo, Buenos Aires, 1947, p. 363.

754 182 The Paez fear illness and death and live in the fear that the whites may take from them their land, their ranchos, their plantings, that is to say, their very sources of survival.

While the sorcerers attack the customs of a capitalist economy and transculturation openly, the curers protect the community against sickness and against the attacks of individuals or groups, by means of their divinations and their vigorous and constant conjurations. In this sense sorcerer and curer are identical. They protect the community.

683 754 Punishment of the sorcerers. The sorcerer is feared by the entire population; identified throughout by it, he suffers general enmity; torrents of hatred arise against him, ending most of the time in violent punishment: confinement in the stocks, whippings, dunkings, and even exile.

/261 cont./

683 554 ●754 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu: "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 [623] In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 184 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951, they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/262 cont./

683 and finally exiled him. The sorcerer nearly died. He com-
184 plained to the Alcadía of Inzá about the brutality of the cabildo. The Alcadía had the stocks destroyed by force, in spite of the protests of the natives. The punishments of the sorcerers in the Parcialidad of San Andrés were about the same up to some 30 years ago.

683 Often, when there is a very dangerous sorcerer, the curers
754 band together in order to kill him. They call his soul, and
756 when it draws near they hit it with a stick smeared with chayuts.
774 The soul leaves with a whistling sound. When a volcano erupts,
[823] it is a sign that the devil is punishing the souls of sorcerers.

754 Psychological characteristics of the sorcerers. Broadly
157 speaking, the sorcerers are timid, resentful, aloof, with a very
156 strong persecution complex; they try to avoid contact with people, believing that they see in each of them a presumed accuser; they tend to be self-supporting; suspicious to a high degree, they roundly deny the accusations of their victims, regarding themselves furthermore as good persons, sound and inoffensive; they pretend to know nothing about remedies, and it is very difficult to obtain any information from them about sorcery. Most of them are intelligent. Endoculturally they are at odds with their own group, insofar as they embody the struggle against the influences of foreign cultures.

The nasa are convinced that no sooner has the sun gone down than the sorcerers are already at work. The most dangerous ones sleep during the day. For this reason they regard as peculiar characteristics of the sorcerers red eyes, an evasive look, aloofness, an unpleasant appearance, egoism, and suspiciousness. They look like criminals, informants say.

182 /263/ Socio-dynamic value of sorcery. Within Paez
754 society, sorcery is vital, overly active, and gravitates into all the social interstices. But, as must be evident, at all times and places it pertains to the realm of concealment. Its executors are surreptitious. They always act in the shadows.

/263 cont./

182 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant
754 attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts [761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction
182 of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the
177 intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution
754 of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the
423 increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution [554] has become prominent. Those who have the most land are [152] the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions
754 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this insti-
182 tution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against [184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is [177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed [675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad [762] which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and cases of arson are hair-raising.

/308 cont./

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
[824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
● 754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (tẽ eu) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

/321 cont./

231 [796] [533] The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for 492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for 484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles, [249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride [482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy [562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or [754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey [789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs, [422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers [233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to [232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-
shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lama.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days o November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Toboima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast.

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end.
589 Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a
[183] family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In
[842] the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing
[775] from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the
● [754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some
581 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that
589 "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers
775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry
183 off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore
[582] the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane
[842] for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund,

8: Bernal Villa

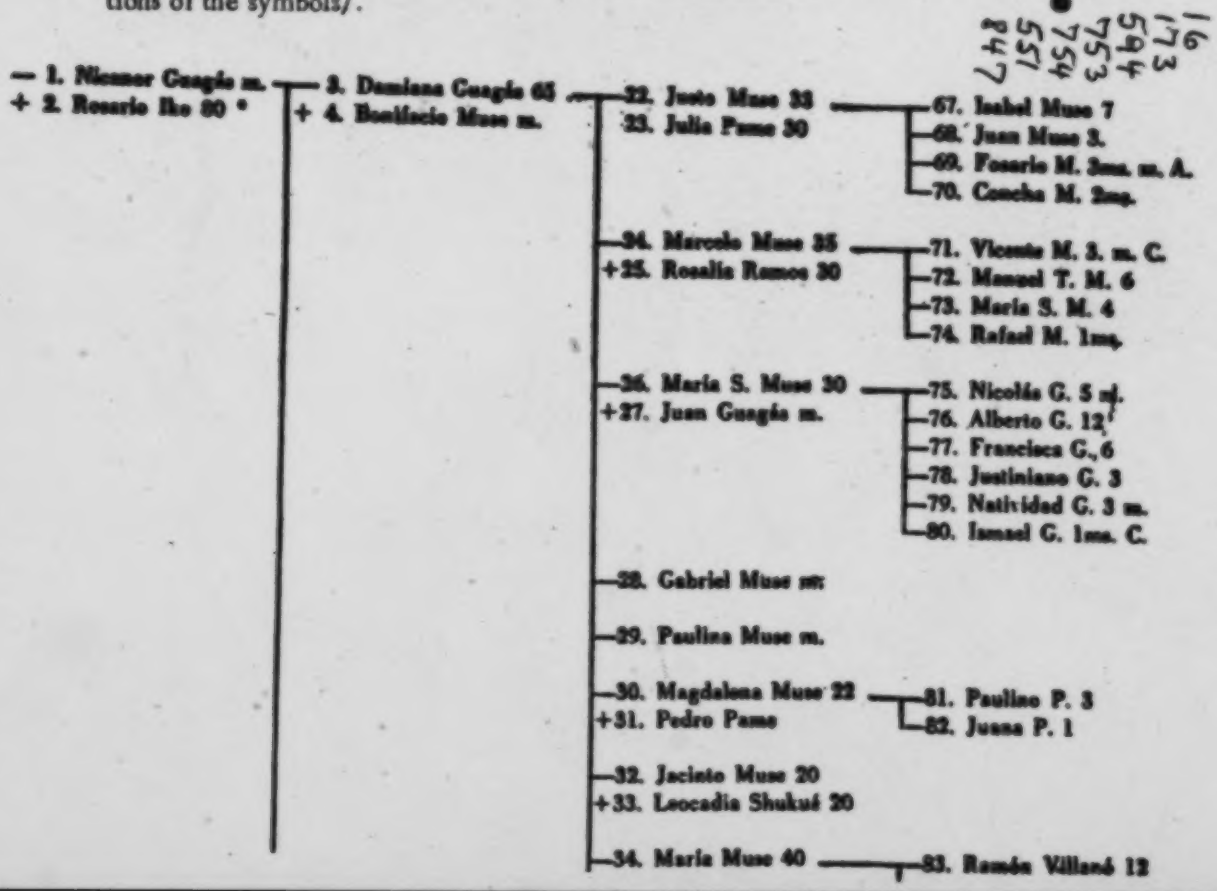
SC15 Paez SC15

16
173
594
753
● 754
551
847

p. 28
p. 29
p. 30
p. 31

Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.


1. Nicanor Guagás m.
+ 2. Rosario Iko 80 °
3. Damiana Guagás 65
+ 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
22. Justo Muse 33
23. Julia Pame 30
67. Isabel Muse 7
68. Juan Muse 3.
69. Rosario M. 2mo. m. A.
70. Concha M. 2mo.
24. Marcelo Muse 35
+25. Rosalia Ramos 30
71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
72. Manuel T. M. 6
73. Maria S. M. 4
74. Rafael M. 1mo.
26. Maria S. Muse 30
+27. Juan Guagás m.
75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
76. Alberto G. 12
77. Francisca G., 6
78. Justiniano G. 3
79. Natividad G. 3 m.
80. Ismael G. 1mo. C.
28. Gabriel Muse m.
29. Paulina Muse m.
30. Magdalena Muse 22
+31. Pedro Pame
81. Paulino P. 3
82. Juana P. 1
32. Jacinto Muse 20
+33. Leocadia Shukuí 20
34. Maria Muse 40
83. Ramón Villanú 12

8: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

8: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

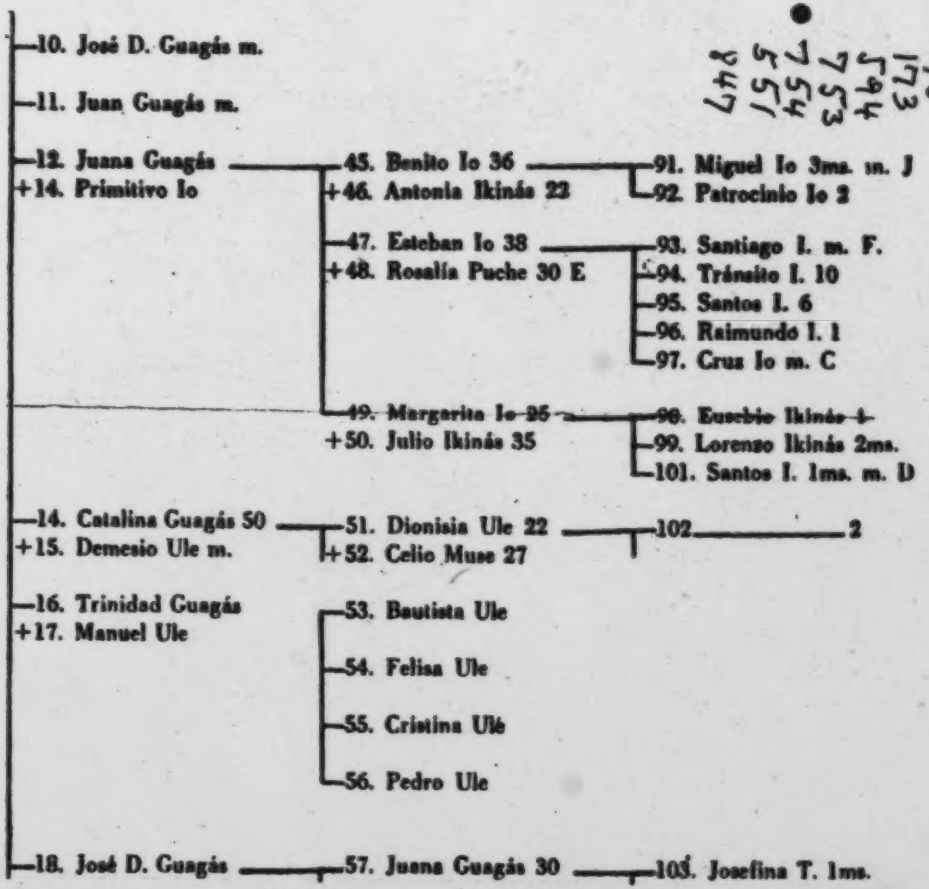
[Parcialidad of Calderas]

11
173
594
753
454
551
847

- 34. María Muse 40
  - +35. José Villanó 40
    - 83. Ramón Villanó 12
    - 84. Juana Villanó 8
    - 85. María S. V. 7
    - 86. Marcelino V. 3
    - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H
  - 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
    - 88. Jacinto Guagüa 6
    - 89. Isabel G. 8ms.
    - +37. Venancio Guagüa 25
- 5. Nicolasa Guagüa 38
  - 38. Marcelina Guagüa 22
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
  - 40. Gregoria Guagüa
  - 41. Agustina Guagüa
  - 42. Virginia Guagüa
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagüa 10
- + 6. Manuel Guagüa m.
- 7. Raimundo Guagüa 35
  - 44. ——— 2
- + 8. María J. Pame 27
- 9. Pascual Guagüa m.
- 10. José D. Guagüa m.
- 11. Juan Guagüa m.
- 12. Juana Guagüa
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - +46. Antonia Ikinás 23
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
- +14. Primitivo Io

[Parcialidad of Caldera]

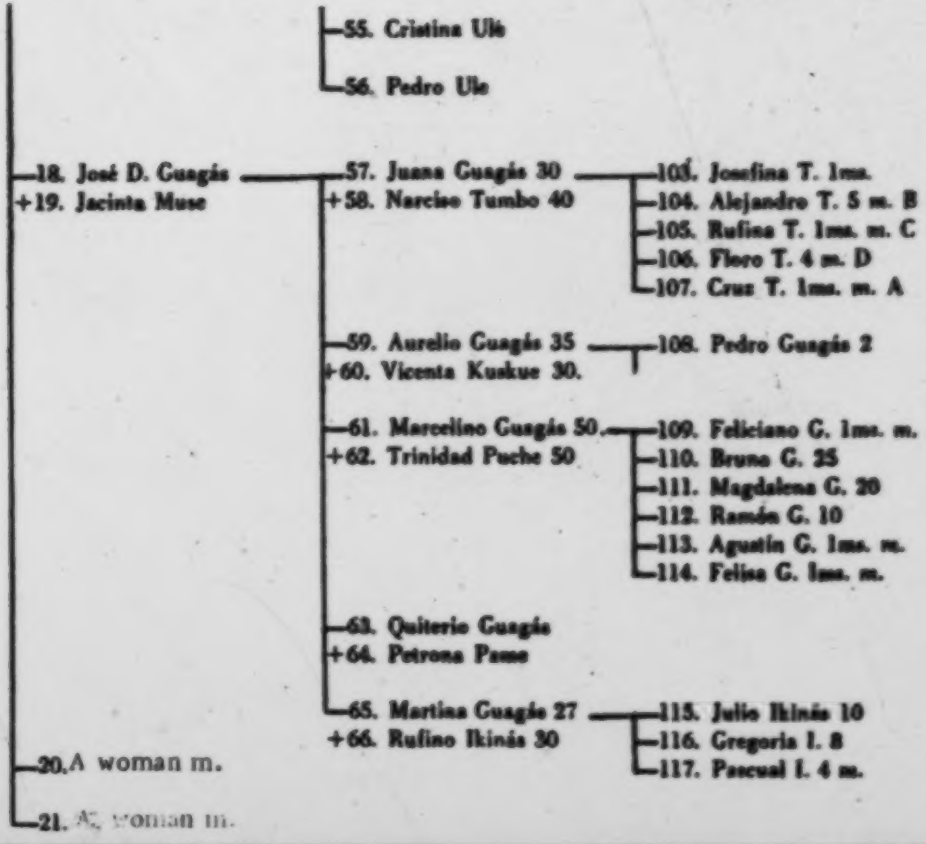
16 173 1754 1753 1754 1757 1847



16
173
594
753
754
551
847

8: Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderon]


55. Cristina Ule
56. Pedro Ule
18. José D. Guagás
+19. Jacinta Muse
57. Juana Guagás 30
+58. Narciso Tumbo 40
103. Josefina T. 1ms.
104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
106. Floro T. 4 m. D
107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
59. Aurelio Guagás 35
+60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.
108. Pedro Guagás 2
61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
+62. Trinidad Puche 50
109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
110. Bruno G. 25
111. Magdalena G. 20
112. Ramón G. 10
113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
63. Quiterio Guagás
+64. Petrona Pame
65. Martina Guagás 27
+66. Rufino Ikinás 30
115. Julio Ikinás 10
116. Gregoria I. 8
117. Pascual I. 4 m.
20. A woman m.
21. A woman m.

8: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Caldecas]

Explanations for the symbols of the chart on pp. 28-31./

16
173
594
753
754
847

*The parents of Rosario Iko were called Agustín Guagás and Concepción Iko, the latter a native of Cuetando. Rosario bears the surname of the mother because of being married to a Guagás.

A. Stung by Echi

B. Poisoned

C. Bewitched.

D. Whooping cough.

E. An abortion.

F. Smallpox.

G. Hernia.

H. Duende.

J. Plague.

m. dead.

ms. months.